# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: ALDOUS HUXLEY

lemorandum 11C, DDATE: March 14, 1962 DIRECTOR, FBI FOIPA 250,30 8 SAC, DETROIT (100-0-ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED FOREST HILLS HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECT: DATE 11 6 84 BY 9 145 ADA. MICHIGAN: - COMPLAINANT TIVITIES IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS On March 9, 1962, COMPLAININT Michigan, advised she has children attending Forest Hills High School, 5091 Hall SE, Ada, Michigan, near Grand Rapids. She said she and other parents of children at the above school are concerned about the conduct of certain of the teachers there, and particularly the use of a book, "Brave New World", by HUXLEY, which is a subject of study at the school. said she had heard through sources which she could not recall or identify that one name unknown, a history teacher at Forest Hills, had displayed a Russian flag in his classroom during the visit of Soviet Premier KHRUSHCHEV to the United States, explaining that he did so in honor of a visiting head of state. said she heard he had not displayed flags of other nations when their heads of state visited the United States. said one recent graduate of Dartmouth College, who is an English teacher at Forest Hills, is using the novel "Brave New World" by HUXLEY, as a text for classroom study. She said she considered this book to be controversial in nature and not a fit subject for high school study. She said she heard had a picture of a Russian flag on the blackboard or bulletin board in his classroom. said she had also heard that a first name unknown, another teacher at Forest Hills, had been dismissed as a teacher at Grandville, Michigan, because of Communist activities. said she had no further information regarding subversive activities at Forest Hills. Icelan 8136, ByR Crime Records Bureau (RM) (Part P. P. REC- 105 I - Detroit 22MAR 16 1962

she feels students at that school are "coming home with a softened attitude towards Communism". She commented that she knew meetings were in progress between the local School Board and the faculty of Forest Hills and that the above matters were under discussion in these meetings. She said she is not a member of the School Board, but that she and some of the other parents had anticipated writing to the Director, FBI, and possibly the U. S. Attorney General, regarding their concern over the current situation at Forest Hills High School.

finding organization and that the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI does not extend to furnishing evaluating or qualifying comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, group or publication, and this should not be interpreted that we do orrdo not have information regarding this subject matter.

On March 12, 1962,

advised he

advised he

forest Hills High School, which appeared to center around

classroom use of the book, "Brave New World" by ALDOUS MUXLEY.

The Forest Hills School Board had apparently ordered this book

banned from use at the school, but a review of this decision

was ordered when faculty members showed that only three of

the seven members of the School Board had read the book.

said he had no indication that any subversive

activity was involved in the above controversy.

Detroit indices contain no references which can be identified with the individuals mentioned herein.

No further investigation is contemplated, but this information is being forwarded to the Bureau inasmuch as indicated she may contact the Bureau and the Attorney General.

Iederal Bureau of Investigation

### Anited States Department of Justice

607 U.S. Court House Foley Square . New York, N. Y.

51-507

February 5, 1938.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES . GENERAL. Bureau file 61-7559.

Dear Sir:

There is forwarded herewith the February, 1938, issue of "State of Affairs" which is the official publication of the Legislative and Research Bureau of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party, 35 East 12th Street, New York City. This publication deals with New York City, County and State politics. This particular issue, February 1938, is of interest because of the "Communist Party 1938 State Legislative Program" which is set out in detail on pages 4 and 5.

Mortimer Don is the editor of "State of Affairs". The officers of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party are named on page 2 of the publication.

The February 1938 issue of Fellowship, official publication of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is also forwarded herewith, and attention is invited to the financial statement of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for the past year which appears on page 16. The statement is dated January 11, 1938, and apparently was prepared by Bernard Rosenbaum, Certified Public Accountant. It was also signed by Walter M. Cook, Public Accountant and Auditor.

It is interesting to note that this organization received \$29,820.19 in contributions during the year 1957.

RECORDED & INDEXED An advertisement for Encyclopedia of by Aldous fluxley appears on page 15. This book apparently is a

The second second

reprint of articles which have appeared in the publication "Fellowship" and can be secured from the office of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for 50%. Arrangements will be made to obtain copies of this publication.

Attention is directed to a book reviewed Revolt Against War" by H. C. Engelbrecht on page 15. This book is published by Dodd Mead, 1937, and costs \$2.50. Instructions are respectfully requested as to whether a copy of this book should be obtained for inclusion in the Bureau file.

An article on page 5, Pacifist Civil Service" by W. Elmore Jackson, Secretary for the Work Camps of the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia, which is understood to be the organization otherwise known as the Quakers, would indicate that this organization is becoming quite deeply involved in Labor problems. The campers which are described in this article apparently contemplate delving into the activities of the United Mine Workers, United Automobile Workers and other trade unions. The American Friends Service Committee is referred to on pages 357, 378 and 387 of the "Roosevelt Red Record and its Background," and also on page 124 of the "Red Net Work."

Very truly yours,

R. E. VETTERLI,

Special Agent in Charge.

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### Bederal Bureau of Investigation



### United States Department of Justice

607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, N.Y.

FERSONAL AND CONF

March 12, 1938.

Director. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS U

Re: SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES GENERAL

Dear Sire

(Bureau file 61-7559)

There is forwarded herewith the literature described below which was obtained from the sources indicated by Special Agent of this office:

"One Year in Spain"

Published by the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. and described as a picture story of American doctors and nurses. The Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy is part of the organization now known as the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. This publication was edited by Walt Carmon and describes the equipment which has been furnished for the American Medical units with the Loyalist Army and also the activities of the personnel of those units.

This publication: is being distributed through the Workers! Book Shop, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N.Y.

The Meaning of the Soviet Trials", by E. Yaroslavsky, with an introduction by William Z. Foster. This pamphlet, which is distributed through the Workers! Book Shop, was published by Workers Library Publishers, Inc., in March, 1938. In addition to the articles by Foster and . Yaroslavsky it also includes the official text of the indictment of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites in the current trial at Messow.

Mext Steps to Win the War in Spain".

A pamphlet published by the Workers Library Publishers, Inc., in January, 1938, and containing articles by Earl Browder and Bill Lawrence. A number of interesting items have been underscored and particular attention is invited to the parts underscored on pages 14 and 15 wherein Browder makes reference

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INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF TRVE

8 1938

🗱. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COPIES DESTROYED 6-11-59#4



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Letter to Director 61-507 March 13, 1938.

On the same page is advertised the "Socialist Call", which is the official organ of the Socialist Party. The office for this publication is given as 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill., and the price for the subscription for 52 issues is \$1.00.

In the submitted issue of "Socialist Review" there will be found an interesting article on "The Labor Movement in California", by Travers Clement, pages 10, 11 and 17, which appears to tie in the Communist party very closely with the activities of the C.I.O. and of Harry Bridges.

The statement on the cover of this book states "This short but brilliant pamphlet, edited by Mr. Huxley, raises, and answers, every argument which can be advanced in exoneration of war." It is printed by Harper & Brothers, Publishers, and copyrighted in 1937. It is divided into paragraphs headed to answer most of the questions which may arise in connection with the discussion of pacifism. The Peace Pledge Union is described in a paragraph beginning on Page 72. The War Resisters' International is described in a chapter commencing on page 94, its statement of principles being on pages 95 and 96. The pamphlet is well indexed.

While this copy was purchased by Agent was at the Rand School Book Store, the pamphlet is distributed through the War Resisters' League, 171 West 12th Street, New York, N.Y., and a rubber stamped imprint to that effect appears on the back of the cover of the pamphlet.

10. A pamphlet distributed through the Rand School Book Store, which is a reprint from Dynamic America", issue of December, 1937, and bears the sub-title "A Timely Warning to Capitalists." The author of the pamphlet is Max Sherover.



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The Countess and the Devil
The Cussedest Boy in Town
Sorrel Hellion
War With a Woman

I Don't Mind at All
Unseen Lover
Under the Blossom
A Most Obliging Man

Henry John Colyton
Alice Lent Coverton.
R. Ross Annet
Hebert Douglas
Skidmore
Heben Friedel
Mosier
Ruth Rankin Lamson
Margaret Craven \*
George Bradshaw
David Lamsen

### Journal Stories

### Afterx Rengan

Experiment Perilous Mousie

The Fermenic Daughter ... Nelle Cardner White

Another farm story by this author

The Beauty of Fanny Pennell

The Fainting ..... Dorothy Pruitt
The Christmas Tree Geo. Loveridge, Feb. 45 (Jan. 1945)
The Farmer's Daughter Nella Garner White, March or April Journal
Philadelphia Murder Story Post this spring or late winter by
Say that Jimmy Kissed Me Julykum Kournal (Leslie Ford

After Many a Summer Dies the Swan Time Must Have a Stop Wicked Book of Brother Barnabas

Huxley

Anonymous (probably Huxley)

Love Story

The House and Mr. Peel

The Road and the Turning

Tune Journal

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Newlin B. Wildes G. A. Higgins Ruth Rodney King

Broadcasts....The Giaconda Smiles (Huxley) June 9, 1945 KFI at 6 P.m. June 10th Unseen Lover (Margaret Craven) KECA 7:45 A.m.

FBI story about a girl Barbara and her mother and two men, one of whom was referred to as Bronska...this connects with Géne or Eugene Henry's stories of Miss Bronksa, English background, beginning of the air raids on London, which connects with Huxley

Two stories in This Week, Times magazine a year or so ago in which an English waif is portrayed, his name being Henry, one 'Enery Earns His Shoes.. ennot recall the name of the other story, by Leon Ware.

Unfortunately I do not have all of these stories but am picking them up a few at a time.. hard to get old magazines now a days. My husband unfortunately destroyed them.

that.		January Control and Control an
It's Tough to be Young	War 30 49	
I Still Love Him, Katy	May 10, 41	Libbie Block *
The Home Front	Sept 13,"	* *
man Power	Jan 31, 42	Margaret Craven *
	Gene (or Eugen	
She Just Had a Feeling	Henry, mar 14,	
First Love	Aug 1, 1942 Sept 26, 1942	Isabella Holt *
Count on a Sailor		Alice Lent Covert * Rich, Rowells Watkin
I Remember, I Remember	April 3,	TOTAL TOTAL MENTIL
Time H as No Measure	May 8th,	
Summertime	June 12,,	
The Varioni Bros.	July 17.	•
Mr. God Johnson	July 17, **Aug. 21, **	J. D. Salinger *
Not According to the Book	Sept. 4	Edward Kimbrough Eugene <u>Henry</u> *
The Belittling Parent	Sept. 11, "	Isabella Holt *
The Red Woolen Man	Nov. 6,	Henry John Colyton*
Sergeant Sousa's Arm		44 Ellen Farley
Both Parties Concerned	Feb. 26 *	
Soft Boiled Sargeant	Apr. 15 *	# # # #
Nearer to the Heart's Desire		Henry Beetle Hough*
The Man From Queen Street	<b>E</b> pr. 29	Douglass Welch
Scratch Another Flat Top	Мау 6, ₩	Robert Carson*
Parting is a Pain in the Neck	Mar.25	W W
Southern Exposure	May 20 *	₩ #
Bedside Manner	July 8 . *	₩ ₩
Last Day of the Last Furlough		J.D. Salinger *
Blue Print for Sue		Timothy Turner
You Can't Do That		•
Lucy Liverpool	Aug. 12	Henry Beetle Hough*
The Splendid Outcast	Sept. 2	Beryl Williams
Just a Few People		Markham
Golf With Mirrors	32. 4	
The Muses is My Racket	Nov. 4	Chas. Henry Hamilton
Gentle Like a Cyclone		- — <del>—</del>
Shaggy Lays Off	War 20 B	R. Rods Annet .
A Boy in France	Nov. 18	Stephen Fayne *
A Sinful State O Goodness		J. D. Salinger #
Sit Your Saddle Solid	Mod a smartn-	
Davita Will Repent	This spring	Mari Sandos
The Hi! Howdy!	•	
My Name is Barbara Brian		0 T
Mr. Cookie's Tour		Capt. Jack Tucker
The Ephemeral Triangle		Helen markel
It' Love, Mr. Parron, It's Lov	7.	Robert Carson#
The Crumpled Leaf		Sophie Kerr
One Was Disloyal		Margaret Craven, *
The Pest	April 28	Stanhan kamma
Sound and Bright	# #	Stephen Payne *
The Question	may 5th	Virginia Lee Dana Burnet
Q for Quitcleim	" 12th	B. J. Chute
Opening Day	* 12th	
A Little matter of Garden Seed	ls w w	Joseph marshell Edith B. Delano
Breath of the Devil	* *	Allen R. Bosworth .
Concerto	• 19th	Edgar Jean Bracco
Cold Comford	* 26th	
<u>-</u>	20011	Robert Carson

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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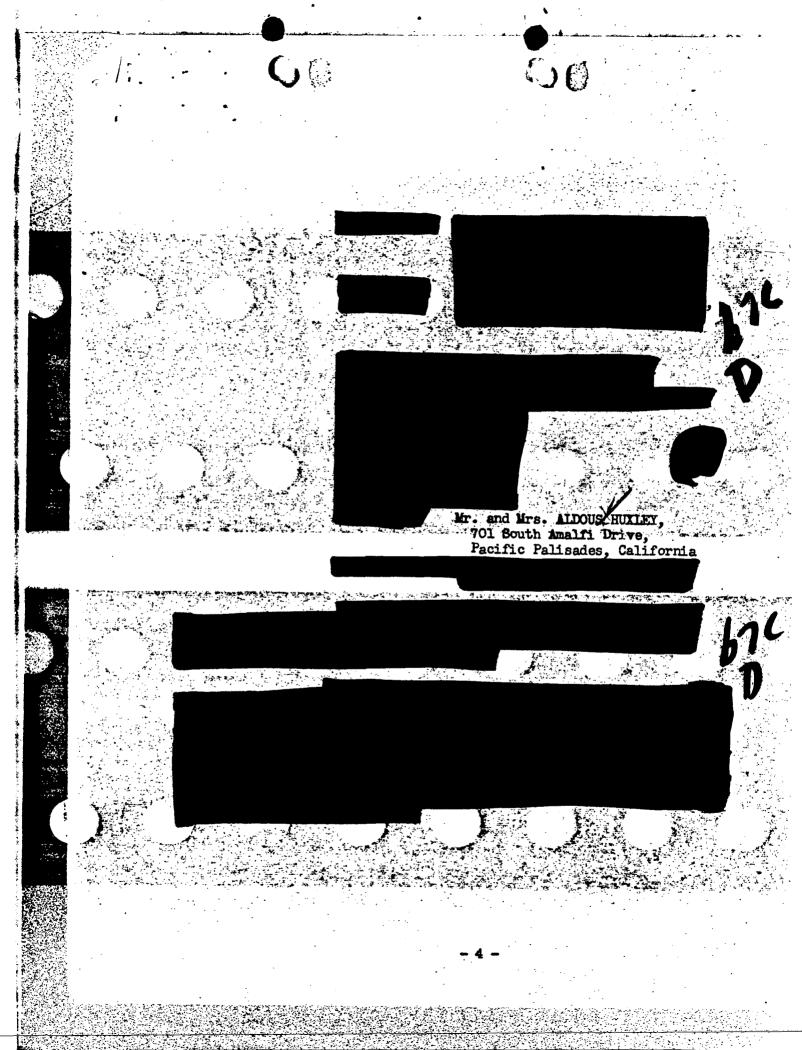
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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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### HUMAN VALUES AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

U.C.L.A. - Dec. 18-19, 1960

- 1. One Hour Speech by C. P. Snow
  - A. My Book "The Two Cultures" has received acclaim all over the world, including the Communist countries, although it contained nothing original.
  - B. Our problem is to co-ordinate the philosophies of the scientists and un-scientific intellectuals -- two poles of intellectual people who are ceasing to communicate. We must find channels of communication. Intellectuals have difficulty comprehending Science.
  - C. Values Inherent in Science:
    - 1. Science is not a neutral activity.
      - A. The aim of Science should be to do good, but, science has to be directed in areas such as:
        - 1) Hydrogen Bomb
        - 2) Overpopulation
        - 3) Gap between rich and poor countries

(I will not despair of the world if we don't learn to handle these problems, but I will despair of the Western World")

- 2. Necessity of telling the truth (built-in ethical component).
- 3. Statistical Reality
  - A. We can perform certain actions, but we know these actions have consequences. In primitive society, actions have no effects (or limited effects). In highly developed society, actions may do great harm.
    - For example, there are 60 million cars now in the U.S. If 30 million more cars are added, it is a statistical reality that there will be many more deaths.
    - 2. Overpopulation (remarks on "problem" -very vague)
      Statistical morality comes in here. It
      is wrong to kill a man, but is it wrong
      to kill 1/100,000th of a man when we know
      if we did not, there would be disastrous
      consequences.

Redistion -It is a statistical reality that if we play around with atomic and hydrogen energy, the results will be that the radiation will have harmful effects some day on some people somewhere. We cannot escape these consequences.

#### Conclusions

- Unless we use our intelligence, we're damned and doomed. Scientists must communicate the truth to the intellectuals.
- U. S. has been lucky in their achievements and success in the industrial revolution -- our success is not because of any virtue or hard work -- but due only because we were lucky.
- If any society has the moral responsibility to bridge the gap between economic differences in the world it is the U. S. This is part of the Scientific Revolution. Unless we bridge this gap we shall fail -and we shall deserve to fail.

### II Panel Discussion

Sir C. P. Snow
Harold (XUrey
Aldous Buxley
Pamels Hansford Johnson (Lady Snow)

Huxley: /(re Statistical Morality)

"One can form good ideas of what will happen in the future and what rational policies we should follow.

We have difficulties getting these policies across in Democracies but it is easy in totalitarian countries who have no trouble dictating these rational policies which are to everyone's advantage. In the long rum they will be carried out by force in every country."

Cati

We have to get people to vote for these rational policies although it will upset the status quo and cost them money and discomfort and get them to implement these rational views.

### Lady Snow:

"Our own interests must come second -- this is our moral obligation."

2. "People choose their own kind of Truth, but Truth is determined on the base of all the indisputable facts we can find. If we don't like the Truth, we say it's untrue."

### Dr. Urey:

- 1. We're confused about Science and Engineering.
  - A. Science is to learn the Truth. Science doesn't hurt or benefit
  - B. The application to practical things is what leads to trouble.
- Concerning statistical morality, this is nothing new. We send some men into battle to be killed because in the long run fewer men will be killed.

Sir Snow's statement that an increase in autos will cause an increase in deaths is not justified statistically because the number of casualties have not increased in proportion to the number of autos. And Sir Snow made no mention of the number of lives that have been saved by automobiles -- taking people to doctors, etc,

We should not think of this in a moral way -actually, I'm not impressed with so-called
"statistical morality".

### Sir Snow: (Confused and backed down)

- 1. "I don't put any value on statistical morality either -- it just came to my mind as I was speaking."
- 2. The real problem is that we find it hard to be future directed.

### Huxley:

- 1. We are lacking in a serious attempt to see the future.
- 2. If people in the 19th century had known about the horrible factory system that developed, they would have avoided the extreme hardships and pensicies of the factories.
- We must apply science to human need this
  is a moral imperative in scientific enterprise.

### Sir Snow:

- 1. Within 5 10 years, 10 countries will have nuclear weapons which will be a nuisance and will increase the chances of a nuclear disaster to the world, either by accident, madness or design. The world can't take more than 2 or 3 of these nuclear disasters. This is not a risk but a certainty -- this is our moral imperative.
- 2. Overpopulation is another moral imperative.

### Huxley:

- In applied science, there is a built-in imperative -- efficiency.
- 2. Efficiency is not the prime value.
- 3. The main question is how do we maintain our human values.

Question to panel: "How does the intrinsic value of Science lead scientists to engage in the creation of the atomic bomb?"

### Sir Snow:

- 1. You've got to remember history -- it was a "battle" between the Pacifists against the others.
- 2. I took the others' side--to fight as long as we could.

### Urey:

Scientists vary like others in population.

- 1. Some are Pacifists.
- 2. Others put all their efforts into protecting the country we hold dear.

# Lady Snow: (disagrees very much with Urey)

- 1. Scientists can't be like the rest of society because they're dealing with matters of such great size and importance.
- The responsibility is on the Scientist --he can't be an ordinary person.

### Huxley:

- 1. "Scientists and non-Scientists are prisoners of their culture. This is a horrible fact."
  - We all know there must be one world but how do we get this idea implemented -- by consent or by force?

(Riot here - student in first row stood up to oppose Huxley. Campus Police took him out; kicking him, and with much struggle. People in first 5 rows (reserved) all stood up, and demanded the student be allowed to stay and speak, but he was taken out.)

### DIEY:

- Most of my friends think the atomic bomb is one of the greatest problems, but we should not be
  - But I am discouraged when the Scientists make the decisions and, in actuality, represent such & small percentage of the people. discouraged.

### Lady Snow:

"I have felt the problem of the people of India in my bones. We have to experience Science to bridge the gap."

(Lady Snow writes books - novels, etc. to bragged, bridge this gap. She admitted, and rather bragged, that she was "mathematically blind" and knows northing about sodemen but she used. nothing about science but she "feels it in her bones" and is able to communicate Science to the intellectuals.)

### Huxley:

It is astonishingly difficult to bridge this gap.

### Lady Snow:

It can't be deliberately done, but the mere understanding that the problem exists helps.

### Drey:

You don't have to understand everything that 1. happens .

For example, when we push the doorbell and a sound is heard in the kitchen, we don't have to understand everything that made this possible -- it isn't really necessary to understand.

2. But what worries me is when people are proud that they don't understand the facts.

### Sir Snow: (no indication of change in subject)

- 1. My 2 essays on Culture have been well received in the U.S.S.R.
- The Russians have the advantage

   a) of knowing the importance of science
   b) of having high school education very much better than that in England or the U.S.

### Urey:

- I have made 2 trips to the U.S.S.R. -- one just last week.
- I am not impressed with the "advantages" Sir Snow states the Russians have. I saw no such advantages.
- 3. I was impressed that the Scientists will talk no politics or public affairs.
- 4. I was impressed that I could see no Russian Scientist in a private conversation.
- 5. The problem of communication between the two cultures is, indeed, very important.

a) I think scientists can do better in bridging this gap than non-scientists.
b) But I'm also interested in politics and economics (indicated he wasn't sure we could, or should, bridge this gap.)

Problem presented to panel: Moral Imperative of Science vs the Moral Imperative of Religion.

### Sir Snow:

- 1. I'm a pious agnostic.
- 2. Morality is not connected with religion and a lot of religion is not moral.
- 3. Morality exists apart from religion. The best people I've met are not religious.
- 4. I see little evidence that the formally religious societies are any more moral than

### the societies who do not have religions.

### Huxley:

- 1. We must make a distinction between ethics of science built into science and other values not built in which are discovered by scientific method.
- 2. Love is an absolute necessity--this is a major value.

### Lady Snow:

- Morals are social morality and are not connected with religion.
- 2. We are all brothers.

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URGENT

8-2-62

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC THE ANDELE

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DATE
22116

RADIO STATION KPFK - FM, 8729 CAHUENGA BOLLEVARD, NORTH HOLLY-WOOD, CALIFORNIA. RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS).

RE BULET TO

CALIFORNIA JULY 23 LAST, COPY OF WHICH DESIGNATED

FOR THIS OFFICE.

KPFK - FM, 90.7 M.C. COMMENCED BRONDCASTING JUNE, 1959.
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PAGE 2 FROM SAC LOS ANGELES

£22116

HAVE ADVISED THAT DOROTHY HEALEY, CHAIRMAN OF LOS ANGELES
COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY, HAS OCCASIONALLY APPEARED ON STATION
PROGRAMS WHILE AN SWP REPRESENTATIVE DELIVERED A REGULAR BIWEEKLY PROGRAM OVER STATION DURING 1960. LOCAL LOS ANGELES
DIBECTORS IN 1959 INCLUDED ACTORS JAMES MASON AND VINCENT
PRICE, ALDOUGHUXLEY, RICHARD NEUTRA, HALSEY STEVENS, V. K.
OSBORNE, THEODORE STREL, EASON MONROE, CATHERINE CORY, CARL
DENZEL, JOHN ELLIOTT, JOHN ENTENZA, WILLIAM IN JOYCE, JOHN
WICHAEL, LAWRENCE CLARKAPOWEL, AND WALTER MANGER. STATION

MANAGER IS LAWRENCE WILLIAM STETNBERG, PRACTICING ATTORNEY IN BEVERLY HILLS AND MEMBER OF HOLLYWOOD BEVERLY HILLS CHAPTER OF NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD. RELIABLE INFORMANT DENTIFIES

STEINBERG AS FORMER AYD MEMBER IN 1946.

INFORMATION CONCERNING "THREAT TO BOMB RADIO STATION KPFK, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, FEBRUARY 2, 3 AND 4 LAST - BOMBING ... MATTER" SUBMITTED TO BUREAU BY AIRTEL FEBRUARY 7 LAST.

PROGRAM BROCHURE AND ADDITIONAL RESUME OF STATION BEING FORWARDED BY AIRTEL TO REACH BUREAU BY AUGUST 6 NEXT.

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that he must grow physically within his own individual skin. We realize that he must grow mentally within that same body. But if he is to grow further such growth seems to be related to others. He needs to grow out into the life of his fellows, perhaps even into that "cosmic consciousness" about which Einstein speaks. Certainly it is important to keep on growing. All who have observed trees and flowers know that that which the training the state of the state o that which ceases to grow begins to decay

All violence is associated with a refusal to grow. We retreat into ourselves or into a limited grow. We retreat into ourselves or into a limited group as Hitler advises, and are prepared to fight others. Then decay begins, decay with its bad odor of fear, driying others away, hampering our own development. On the other hand, when we drop the barriers that separate us from others, our personalities expand. With this growth comes that finest fragrance of life which men call love.

The use of violence grows from fear and breeds fear. Thus we see that violence is in conflict with the basic law of life — the law of growth. Violence repels others and further isolates ourselves. If we depend on good will, on that identification of ourselves with others which produces love, we attract others and make them more attractive to ourselves. The law of continued growth is served.

True civilization must rest squarely on a foun-True civilization must rest squarely on a foundation of personalities enlarged in this fashion. Those who take up arms do not serve this end. They are destroying that life of the spirit which is the most significant part of themselves. They are committing partial suicide. Physical suffering and death are not the greatest tragedy of war. We must weep for the destruction of that part of men which through its larger awareness capable of feeling at peace with its fellow men.

The task of finding life on this higher plane is not simple. It involves more than mental training. The development of big muscles does not necesraining of the mind does not automatically make an intellectual giant. Likewise the training of the mind does not automatically make a person who has eliminated fear and hurdled the barriers of prejudice through a sense of oneness with his fellow men. We must deliberately train to become that keep of a person. We find that what we do effect out we want to be a person. We find that what we do affects us. We can do only those things that express our good will and tend to produce good will in others. War does the opposite. We cannot fight if we would become the kind of people our world and nation need. For the sake of society as well as for ourselves, we must

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### WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

174- West 12th Street WE ARE NOT

AIN CIHER COUNTRY

### The Use Of Force and the **Conscientious Objector**

Those of us who object to war are by our stand objecting in some measure to the use of force. It is therefore not surprising that the government asks where we draw the line in our convictions concerning force. This is done in Form 47 (Special Form for Conscious Objectors), Series II, No. 4. "Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe in the use of force?" Possibly our stand against war has been hazed on a very general feeling, and we have not based on a very general feeling, and we have not thought through the implications of our position. In that case it may be well for us to examine the question more closely.

We have assembled a number of quotations representing conscientious objector positions or different expressions of the same position.
Reading them carefully may bring to a head within ourselves a sense of conviction concerning our own position. The Statement of each of us needs to be our very own. Such a thing

cannot be borrowed.

**—** o —

SOME DEFINITIONS Jessie Wallace Hughan

It is well to bear in mind that Force is a general

term and Violence far more specific.

FORCE is any exertion of power, active or passive. It may consist of mere restraint, such as locking a door or refusing a license. It may include what is called moral force, soul force or the force of love. The strike and the boycott are essentially force. Few persons, if any, dispersons of every kind of force. approve of every kind of force.

VIOLENCE is an active form of physical force, directed toward destructiveness or the causing

of pain.

NON-RESISTANTS are opposed to violence, though not necessarily to all force. They may disapprove not only of war but of the death penalty, of police protection, of corporal punishment, of returning blow for blow.

WAR is a special form of violence; namely, the organized killing of one group by another, with the profound modification of society which such

organization entails.

The majority of PACIFISTS are not non-resistants, but fhey oppose without compromise the special form of violence known as war, making no exceptions whatever.

#### **-**0-TOLSTOI

"The position of the Christian world, with its fortresses, cannon, dynamite, torpedoes, and palaces is monstrous. But neither fortresses nor cannon nor guns by themselves can make war nor can the prisons lock their gates, nor the gal-lows hang, nor the churches themselves lead men

1 97-3-123

astray, nor the custom-houses claim their dues. nor palaces and factories build and support themselves; all these operations are performed by men. And when men understand that they need not make them, then these things will cease

to be."

"In order that people who do not want war should not fight it is not necessary to have either international triinternational law, arbitration, international tri-bunals, or solutions of problems; but it is neces-sary merely that those who are subjected to the deceit should awake and free themselves from the spell of enchantment under which they find themselves. The way to do away with war is for those who do not want war, who regard participa-tion in it as sin, to refrain from fighting."

"Caesar needs my money—take it; my house, my labors — take them. But when Caesar requires that I apply the rods to my neighbor's back, that is God's affair . . . I cannot bind, imprison, whip, kill my fellow men; all that is my life, and it helongs to God alone and I may not sive it

it belongs to God alone, and I may not give it to anyone except God."

"A single enforcement of capital punishment, ordained by men of education and wealth, sanctioned by the Christian elegant. tioned by the approval of the Christian clergy, and declared to be an act of justice essential to the welfare of the State, tends far more to de-grade and brutalize mankind than hundreds and thousands of murders committed in passion by <del>--</del> 0 --

### "THE FLAME"

### A Tolstolan Paper, London

"Violence is, truly, a correlative of atheism. Man must appeal to something for help in his difficulties. Either he appeals to the spirit which is within him, and becomes calm and strong; or to the weapon of attack which is without, and becomes violent and weak and full of fear. Violence may be in many forms. It may be obviously destructive, as by the stroke of the sword or the rope of the hangman; or it may be coercive, as by the key of the Gaolor, statutory prohibition, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is one thing it cannot be, and that is a true remedy for evil . . "

# ALDOUS HUXLEY .

Pacifism is often opposed on the ground that "civilization is based on force", "there cannot be justice unless it is imposed by force", and so on. What exactly does this word "force" stand for? The answer is that, when used in reference to human relations, it has no single definite meaning "Force" is used by parents when finite meaning. "Force" is used by parents, when, without resort to any kind of physical compulsion, they make their children obey them. "Force" sion, they make their children obey them. "Force" is used by the attendants in an asylum, when they restrain a maniac from hurting himself or others. "Force" is used by the police when they control traffic and "force" of another kind and in greater quantity is used by them when they

make a baton charge. Finally, there is the "force" that is used in war. This varies with the mentality of the combatants and the weapons and other technical devices at their disposal. Chivalry has disappeared and the "rules of war" are coming to be ignored; in any future war "force" will probably mean violence and fraud used to the extreme limit of the belligerents' capacity.

"Force" used by armies making use of modern weapons is morally unjustifiable and is not even likely to secure its object, for the simple reason that these weapons are so destructive that a war that these weapons are so destructive that a war cannot now preserve any of a nation's vital interests; it can only bring ruin and death indiscriminately to all who come within its range, innocent and guilty, attacker and attacked, soldier and civilian alike. Merely in order to be effective,

"force" must be used in moderation.

Experience shows that the forces which accomplish most are psychological forces — the force of persuasion, the force of loyalty, the force of social tradition, the force of good example and the like.

### International Police Force

This proposal either takes the form of a com-This proposal either takes the form of a complete international force of navy and army and air force, as advocated by the New Commonwealth, or an international air police force, officially supported by the Labour Party. It is argued that instead of depending in an emergency on doubtful military contributions from various nations, a standing force under the direction of nations, a standing force under the direction of the League of Nations should be established. But apart from the doubt as to whether a declared aggressor can be thwarted and forced into ac-quiescence by methods of violence, there would be insuperable difficulties in enlisting, recruiting, arming, training and even locating such an armed body, and its command and release for action arming, training and even locating such an armed body, and its command and release for action would require a unanimous international decision which would not be likely to be forthcoming. In the world of today it is inconceivable that French and Germans, Russians and Italians, Americans and Japanese would unite together in order to man such a force; it is inconceivable that the staff officers of the various nations would draw up in advance elaborate plans of campaign for an attack, in certain contingencies, on their fraw up in advance elaborate plans of campaign for an attack, in certain contingencies, on their own countries. If certain nations refused to par-ticipate, the main purpose would not be served and if the contribution in men of any one nation or combination of nations preponderated they would be accused of trying to dominate the world.

The proposal is not only undesirable but utterly impracticable.

### Police Methods

"War is often justified on the ground that when it is "in support of Law" (which means in prac-tice when it is being waged by one's own country) it is no more than police action. (This was the view expressed by the Archbishop of York when arguing against pacifism.) Let us consider the differences between the police and military:

The police are generally unarmed. Their prime task is the prevention of crime and the forestalling of public disturbances.

Selections from "An Encyclopaedia of Pacifism", edited by Aldous Huxley, Harper and Brothers, New York.

<sup>.</sup> This was true in England until January. 1941. . . . Ed.

(2) When a crime has been committed, or when trouble has broken out, the function of the police is to arrest the person or persons who are guilty. They have no power of inflicting punishment and they are not permitted to use more force than is necessarily and the arrest of the guilty porty. sary to secure the arrest of the guilty party. Armies are radically different from police forces.

.

(1) They are armed, and the more efficient their arms become, the more indiscrimi-nate becomes the destruction which they

inflict.

(2) The force which they are empowered to use is not limited. Their function is not to restrain the guilty; it is to destroy all things and people within their range. When the police wish to arrest a criminal, they do not burn up a town in which he is living and kill or torture all its inhabitants. But and kill or torture all its inhabitants. But this precisely is what an army does, par-

ticularly an army using modern weapons. (3) States arrogate to themselves the right, not only to judge other states, but also, by means of their armies, to punish them. The means of their armies, to punish them. The principle is wholly repugnant to law: moreover, the process of punishing a guilty nation entails the destruction of countless innocent individuals. An army with tanks and bombing squadrons is not and cannot be a police force. Nor can its essentially evil and destructive functions be moralized by calling it a League army an instrument by calling it a League army, an instrument of collective security, etc. Police operate with the universal consent of the community which employs them. Armies operate at the order of one among the nations or the few nations which are allied together.

### POLICE FORCE AND CIVIL WAR . H. Runham Brown

"I am not opposed to the use of a certain measure of force, but that force must be a remeasure of force, but that force must be a restraining force and not a destructive one. For instance, we will suppose that a freely elected Government, representing a certain measure of progress, has been established, such as was the case in Spain last February, and that a "small" group of violent men representing class and privilege try to overthrow it by violence and so thwart the will of the people. I should be prepared in such a case to arrest and imprison those men, even if in so doing, there were some broken men, even if in so doing, there were some broken heads, even at the risk that the necessary use of force was exceded and some were killed. Then, does it mean that if the opposition come with sticks I would use the policeman's truncheon, but if they come with guns I will let them have their way? No, it means that up to the point where there is reasonable prospect of restraining them, I should be prepared to use the necessary force, but directly it became evident that I had no alternative but to attempt to destroy them, at that point I should stop. If I found that this re-actionary gang were in such numbers or possessed such weapons as to make restraint imposmeans of subduing them, I should definitely reject that method, even if I had to allow them to take control; but if they did take control, it would not be with my help. I should refuse them all cooperation, refuse to become their test tend

would not be with my help. I should refuse them all cooperation, refuse to become their tool, and should use my best endeavors to bring everything to a standstill."

Now if "I" were the will of the progressive majority who were in this way being ousted from their control, we should soon see if the usurpers were in reality a small group of violent reactionaries. If they were, they would be powerless and their government would collapse within a few weeks as the Kapp Putsch in Berlin 1920. They might shoot their way to the Government offices, but their guns could not help them run the country or to provide its food. But on the other hand, supposing they could pursuade or cudgel a sufficient number of their countrymen into the service, then we should have to start into the service, then we should have to start again to rebuild our new society."

### MAHATMA GANDHI .

Non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. It is the most active force in the world. It is the weapon, not of the weak, (as passive resistance may be), but of the strongest and the bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God.

No power on earth can stand before the march of a peaceful, determined, and God-fearing people. Non-violence is more powerful than all the armaments in the world. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man.

If blood be shed, let it be our blood. Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing. For man lives freely only by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him.

The "civil resister" obeys in general the laws of the State, not out of fear of penal sanctions, but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But certain laws he regards as so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour. Therefore he then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach.

#### -- 0 --QUAKER STATEMENTS

"Force may subdue but love gains and he who forgives first wins the laurel." William Penn

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing of evil, and again to move us unto it: and we certainly and again to move us unto it; and we certainly

<sup>\*</sup>Quoted from "What Ahout Spain" by Jessie Wallace Hughan—War Resisters League

<sup>\*</sup> Selected (and in some cares slightly condensed and rearranged) by S. Hobbonse from the published writings and sayings of M. K. Gandhi (1926 to November, 1938).

know, and testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us unto all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.... Therefore we cannot learn war any more."

George Fox and Others. A Declara-tion from the Harmless and Innocent People of God, called Quakers, pre-sented to Charles II. — (1660)

"This estimate of life has beyond question colored the Quaker attitude toward war and toward all methods of attaining the ends of life by ward all methods of attaining the ends of life by violence. He is convinced that men have so far hardly begun to discover the right and adequate methods of education and spiritual nurture for children and vouth. There are principles of life and forces of human understanding which some day will be explored and brought into play and will in time produce a wholly different atmosphere, "a change of currency" for effective human relations. If the Quaker were to single out one principle above all others as his keyprinciple of human relations, it would be, I am sure, St. Paul's principle of social "therapeutics": "Overcome eyil with good." Instead of combating evil with a method which itself is inherently evil and which tends to produce more combating evil with a method which itself is inherently evil and which tends to produce more evil in its train, the Quaker proposes to undertake a line of action which will demonstrate in the midst of the present evil the contagious power of goodness and which will tend to reinvigorate the social health."

Rufus M. Jones. — Reprinted from Friends Intelligencer. — June 17, 1939

#### - o -PART OF AN ANSWER TO FORM 47

Submitted to his local draft board by J. Nelson Tuck

I believe in the use of force only as a means of restraint in the legitimate exercise of police power. I do not believe in force even as a means of punishment — for vengeance does not right a wrong — but only as a means of restraining a criminal while he is being rehabilitated and society protected against a repetition of his crime.

Police power, however, is not analogous to war power. Police power seeks only to restrain, war power seeks to destroy; police power is used only as a means of bringing a criminal to justice: war power is used to burn down his house and gas his grandmother; the policeman is only an arresting force; the soldier is judge, jury and executioner as well; police power is used only to protect society and rehabilitate criminals, war power is a tremendous force for the destruction of society and the means of making innumerable criminals.

# NON-COMBATANT SERVICE DeWitte Wyckoff

Can a pacifist accept non-combatant military service? A non-combatant does not have to use a bayonet, shoulder a rifle, participate in the

firing of a gun, nor fly a bomber. In short, he does not engage in direct fighting. If he can accept any non-combatant service at all, he can probably serve in the medical corps. Medical work has certain appeals; it is humanitarian, suffering is relieved, and lives are saved. Medical aid in given to appear and to these who will be aid is given to enemies and to those who will return to service.

On the other hand:

1. Medical service is an indispensible part of the war system. Wars cannot be waged without non-combatants as well as combatants. No valid distinction can be seen between a person who fires a gun and a non-combatant without whose service the gun could not be fired. Military service has one design, one purpose, for both combatant and non-combatant. An orchestra leader plays no instrument and yet the music is as much his as that of any player. The law of criminal conspiracy is helpful in the second tion. If several persons conspire to perform a criminal act, they are all guilty. Furthermore, a conspirator may be responsible for an action which he did not even anticipate. For example, which he did not even anticipate. For example, if several agree to rob a store, even if it is planned that fire-arms will not be used, an unarmed watcher is guilty of murder if another of the group kills a human being in carrying out the plan to rob. (29 Corpus Juris 1074.) By analogy, if war should be considered murder, all who participate in carrying on this criminal activity as combatants or non-combatants are equally guilty of murder.

2. A person drafted under the Selective Service 2. A person drafted under the Selective Service Act is trained not outside but in the army; he is inducted into army service. A non-combatant wears a military uniform; he gives military salutes; he is subject to military discipline, and to court martial for infractions of such discipline. It is uncertain what would happen if in time of emergency the non-combatant is ordered to perform combatant duty and, because of his conscience, refuses.

3. The refusal of pacifists to join the medical corps, or other non-combatant service, does not mean that they cannot render to their country non-military service of value. Conscientious objection to war is not an isolated belief; it is part of an integral philosophy of life. The term pacifist comes from pax, meaning peace, and facio, meaning to make. A pacifist is literally a peacemaker. A true pacifist, therefore, engages in the work of relieving tensions, breaking down divisions, and reconciling those of different ages, classes, races, and nationalities. The true pacifist is altruistic and lavish in the use of money, time, strength, and skill in the service of humanity. Compare, for example, the value of the work done by the American Friends Service Committee with that of the same number of Committee with that of the same number of persons in any other activity.

FRANKYOLMSTEAD

Man has given much thought to the question of the use of violence. This may have been because it is so closely concerned with the growth of our own personalities. We look at a baby and know 300-39/697\_665 NOT RECORD 91627

#### FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Fund for the Republic celebrated its tenth anniversary in New York City, January 21 and 22, 1963, at a "convocation" for the officially announced purposes:

- To bring together world and American leaders to consider how democratic man can meet problems affecting the survival of freedom with justice in the world.
- To call upon concerned Americans to assume leadership in marshalling financial support to carry forward the work of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions [at Santa Barbara, California] over the next

The Center is the main activity of the Fund for the Republic. It is seeking \$20,000,000 half for Center operating funds and half for an endowment fund.

The Fund was organized in 1953with a \$15,000,000 outright grant from the Ford Foundation, but was later publicly disavowed by the latter. First president of the Fund was Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey. Its present officers are:

Honorary Chairman Paul G./Hoffman Co-Chairmen Elmo Roper William O Douglas President Robert M. Hutchins Vice-Chairman George N. Shuster Harry S. Ashmore William O. Baggs

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Clark Kerr
Henry R Luce
John Countary Murray, 4145 all Reinhold Niebuhr Isidor I 1 abi George W shuster Robert Watson-Watt

The executive staff of the Center, e: FOLPH 250 308

Robert M/ Hutchins Vice-Presidents W. H. Ferry Frank K. Kely Secretary and treasurer Hallock/Hoffman James T Brady Scott Buchanar John Oogley William Gorman Paul Jacobs Richard Lightran Joseph P. Lyi d Walter Millis Edward Reed. Robert Watson-Wate Harvey Wheele John Wilkinson

President

As of January 1, 1963, the Center had 54 Founding Nembers who "contribute \$1,000 or more each year in support of the program." Among these, only two are nationally promi-Herbert H. Lehman and Robert S. McNamara.

To explain its credo to the public, the Center published a pamphlet The Power of Reason."

Quotation of some of its quotations shows why Mr. Hutchins says, "The Center, the only program of The Fund for the Republic, Inc., is \ an educational institution without álumni. Its work cannot be financed, at this time, by appeal to coventional Soutces of educational support land the land of the lessues and of some of the land of the lessues and of some of the land of

Trospective contributors to the Center's \$20 million fund should inquire why its work "cannot" be fibanced through ordinary channels.

#### O Funded Revolution

Perhaps the reason can be found in the following typical excerpts From the grossiy eags."

ments in "The Power of Reason"

Litching describes as which Mr. Hutchins describes as controversial, but which millions of more reasonable Americans might describe with a much harsher adjective:

Page 25 — HARVEY WHEELER: "America must realize that there may be more than one revolutionary path to Americanism. And she must realize that in the twentieth century her traditional\* form of revolution is not one of them."

Page 30—Robert M. Hutchins: The Negro in America is not a part

\* His emphasis.

ENLOSURE

100-39/697-665

verime that the Ameriwer committed, and est crimes that any committed."

Think we need some kinds of new guarantees against the powerful police atmosphere in which we live. The appropriation of the FBI is over twice the annual appropriation of the entire federal court system. That is just a straw in the wind, a reflection of the things that are happening to people who are not popular."

Page 38—Donald N. Michael: "There is every reason to believe that within the next two decades machines will be available outside the laboratory that will do a credible job of original thinking, certainly as good thinking as that expected of most middle-level people who are supposed to 'use their minds.' There is no basis for knowing where this process will stop, nor is there any comfort in the assertion that, since man built the machine, he will always be smarter or more capable than it is."

Page 42—A. A. Berle, Jr.: "Not only do 500 corporations control two-thirds of the non-farm economy but within each of that 500 a still smaller group has the ultimate decision-making power. This is, I think, the highest concentration of economic power in recorded history. Since the United States carries on not quite half of the manufacturing production of the entire world today, these 500 groupings represent a concentration of power over economics which makes the medieval feudal system look like a Sunday School party."

Page 44—W. H. FERRY: "To bring the economic order under the political order, a new theory of government is necessary."

Page 46—CLARK KERR: "Since unions are an important element in our pluralistic society, their effective functioning is a contribution to the national welfare. As an element of a democratic society, they should be responsive to their members. As an element of a society founded on the significance of the individual, they should contribute to his freedom. 'More, more, more—and now' is no longer enough."

Page 84-ROBERT M. HUTCHINS: "If one thing is clear it is that the idea of government as a policeman, referee, night-watchman, or competitor with other forces is dead, and that the idea that all we need ask about government is how we protect ourselves against it is deader still. This is as it should be. The world we are living in is totally new. Since the world is totally new, and since it has become so overnight, our ideas are obsolete or obsolescent. In every aspect of our lives, we are living without theory, or, what is worse, we are living on the debris of outworn or disproved theory. Our minds are like attics filled with abandoned and useless furniture."

Page 85—Anonymous: "The problem for the churches and synagogues of America is exemplified in the tendency to think of religion itself in terms of 'usefulness' and 'service' to the community of the contribution faith can make toward guaranteeing personal 'peace of mind.' Like almost everything else, religion in America is valued for services rendered."

#### Loyal U.S.A. Opposition

There are many comments to be made and questions to be asked about the foregoing by "middle-level" Americans.

Since Harvey Wheeler declares that in our century the American traditional form of American revolution as a path to Americanism is out, does he believe tha untraditional revolution should be in? If so, of what kind? By forc or violence, or devious Marxian revolutionary parliamentarism?

How many Negroes in America would agree with Robert Hutchins that they are "no a part" of the American society? A hundred thousand Black Muslims out of 17,000,000 Negroes? A few thousand Communist Negroes? Is it not true that a vast majority of Negroes, despite any injustives they may have suffered, are glad to be Americans and are loyally devoted to our country?

The FBI, under the Department of Justice and at the command of the U.S. Government, investigates criminals, subversives and espionage agents. Are there the people de-

Douglas as "not popular"? How many Americans believe ours is a land of "police atmosphere" and live in fear of the FBI? What really is behind the Fund for the Republic's campaign against the FBI as revealed in public pronouncements by several top officials of the Fund?

Is there a shred of scientific evidence to support Donald Michael's statement that there is no basis for knowing, or any comfort to be gained, from assertion that man will be smarter (more intelligent) than the machines he creates as creatures of his God-given human mind? No machine has had, has, or will have a creative "life" of its own.

Do the managerial executives in America's top 500 corporations exert a monolithic economic power over the people of the United States which, as A. A. Berle asserts, forces them into servitude so abject as to make the medieval feudal system seem innocuous by comparison? Or is it true that American industrialists have worked so hard, well, and intelligently that we are provided with material benefits and opportunities for improvement which cause countless millions of human beings throughout the world to cherish the dream of "going to America" to

If we were to bring our competitive, free, private economic system "under the political order"—as W. H. Ferry urges—would we not have a socialist (fascist or Marxist) Corporate State? Do Americans want to revolutionize the United States under a "new theory of government"—as Ferry demands—or do we wish to progress under our existing form of government?

Since Clark Kerr believes that labor unions' demands for "more, more—and now" are not enough, what would, in his opinion, be enough? Does he want labor union ownership of the means of production?

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund and Center, declares that the world is "totally new" and immediately proceeds to argue, "Since the world is totally new . . ." This is precisely like saying, "Two and two make five. Since two and two make five ... "Even middle people able to think less or than machines know for a fact the world is not totally new. Evidently, Mr. Hutchins and his Centered controversial thinkers long to make it so by destroying our inherited customs, traditions, ideals, religion, principles of government, and techniques.

What can a middle-level person inferior to a machine say about the views on religion in America held by "Anonymous" or rather by "blank," because there is only plain white space where the credit-line generally appears in "The Power of Reason"? If religion should not give American believers a sense of usefulness in our society, a sense of service to it, and peace of mind, then why have any religion? Without usefulness, service and peace of mind, Americans certainly would fit perfectly into Robert Hutchins' concept as expressed on page 36 of "The Power of Reason":

We are all built into the technical system, as cogs in the machine and as an automatic claque.

To change this alleged condition, Mr. Hutchins—like all absolutists—wants a law. Thus he writes, "The prospects of humanity turn upon its ability to find the law that will direct technology to human uses."

In reply to this sophomoric Fund-Center-Hutchins theory, a middle-level thinker ventures to state that technology was, is, and will be put to human use by human beings for good or evil according to free choice under God, who gave them as guide a Golden Rule. It takes into account their individuality and fallibility, prevents their eternal subjection to a single, man-made, imperfect "law," and forever guarantees their unalienable right to liberty.

#### Funded Plan for Corporate State

Never one to balk at radical overstatement, Robert M. Hutchins appealed to prominent persons at the Fund for the Republic's convocation in New York City, for \$20,000,000 to enable the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions to go "forward." He said that at stake in this "is the survival of freedom and justice in the world."

Perhaps he is partly correct. Evidently, freedom and justice in Amer-

as world leader would go back rd as the Center went forward i

Here is a statement of objectives by W. H. Ferry, staff director of the Center, in his pamphlet "The Economy under Law" (pp. 12, 13):

The kind of government argued for here asserts the primacy of politics, that is to say, it calls for the use of political rather than private decisions in economic issues that affect the whole country. It denies the sufficiency of classical economic theory. . . .

The Constitution embodies the principle that the people are the repository over policies and institutions that touch the entire community. This power can be used whenever needed, democratic direction of economic power can be achieved, and economic activity can thus be rationalized. . . .

The largest American corporations are the most influential of non-governmental agencies and the largest allocators of resources. Thus, a principal question would center around what devices would be needed to obtain political accountability from the corporations for such matters as:

- Decisions about the investment use, and distribution of goods and services, the allocation of resources, human and material:
- The introduction of significant new technology;
- Stabilization of production and employment;
- The creation of standards of due process for employees and others directly affected by corporate action, and a judicial system to enforce them;

... Decisions affecting the country could be transferred from the corporate conscience via Congress to the public conscience.

To a middle-level (Center euphemism or newspeak for "bourgeois" or "middle class") thinker, there is no difference at all between the foregoing industrial program and the industrial democracy of the Soviet Union. To the forward thinkers of the Santa Barbara Center, however, splitting hairs is a rewarding million-dollar pastime. So there took place the following Center intellectual exchange of views concerning Ferry's "democratic" formula:

JACOBS (PAUL): "I'd like to ask Mr. Ferry: Can you destroy socialism without destroying the validity of your argument?"

FERRY: "I find socialism an inappropriate term. It is too loaded with

nents and experiences
eem to have much usefult
in the American context. The we
is heavy with connotations whe
make it seem [sic!] a terrible thing
to most people. I think there is
something brand new emerging here
as well as in Europe which is certainly not capitalism. If you wish
you can call it socialism. Several of
my less friendly critics suggested
that the new fascism was being proposed here. Naturally, I don't agree
to that statement."

ASHMORE (HENRY S.): "I gather you stop short of actual ownership of the means of production by the public. You don't feel that this is necessary to do what you want to do. You think it can be done in other ways, by planning and controlling short of public ownership."

FERRY: "Yes. It seems to me that we have not even begun to test our own political inventiveness. . . ."

The discussion went on, and the following statements were made: FERRY: "... The important thing is not the name... Answering these questions is going to result in a new and different type of [American] state. Bringing it inside the legal framework is what is important."

MILLER (WILLIAM LEE): "... We want to kill off the remnar rugged individualism as a theory society and action. ..."

HUTCHINS: "The principle behind all of this is the supremacy of the political and legal order. Once you establish this principle, you establish that the economy is a political economy, and then you can use the powers of, say, the Federal Reserve Board to regulate the annual production of automobiles."

At this point it is useful to recall that the Fund for the Republic was established with millions of dollars from the Ford Foundation.

#### Fund's 1963 Constitutional Convention

It is futile to wonder whether Henry Ford, founder of the Ford Motor Company, turns over in his grave at what the Center has done with his money. The vitally important matter now is to consider what will be the national effect of giving

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: Fascism was national socialism.

#### SOME SPC NSORS OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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it still more money. Already, the Fund for the Republic has superseded Americans for Democratic Action as a political instrument of the Far Left. Supporters of the Fund occupy several of the highest

sts in the Executive Branch of the U.S. Government.

At the Fund for the Republic's anniversary fund-raising dinner, January 22, 1963, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, as is his wont, opened his address with a facetiously serious statement. "When Bob Hutchins lured me here to speak at this meeting," said Mr. Stevenson, "he said, with customary modesty, that it would surpass in importance the Constitutional Convention. I thought he might be exaggerating a bit, but, looking around this room, I'm not so sure.'

Mr. Stevenson gave his unqualified endorsement to "what the Center has already done and promises to do in the years ahead." What counts, he explained and quoted from his address of a decade ago to the Democratic National Convention, "is not just what we are against, but what we are for."

Seen in focus through its publications, it seems the Center (which disclaims organizational responsibil-

ity for views expressed in print and over the airwaves by its own officials and consultants) is for:

- Destruction of the first strike nuclear capability of the United States; unilateral U.S. disarmament; and a better-Red-than-dead U.S. foreign policy.2
- Abolition of the FBI's counterintelligence activities and removal of J. Edgar Hoover from office as director of the F.B.I.
- Abolition of Congressional power to investigate Communist activities and of all existing U.S. anti-Communist legislation.
- Conversion of all industries to peacetime production only and their total subjection to control by the Federal Government.
- <sup>2</sup> See, "Permanent Peace" by Walter Millis; "Community of Fear" by Harrison Brown and James Real; "A World Without War" by Walter Millis, 1960 and 1961.

- Federal control over what is broadcast internationally by Telstar.
- Creation of a Corporate Republic of the United States of America to be achieved by: (a) Curtailing all powers of Congress except that of debate permitted by the President of the Corporate Republic; (b) Concentrating all power in the hands of the President; (c) Enabling him to use the Supreme Court as his instrument for legalizing his exercise of absolute power; (d) Incorporation of the Corporate Republic of the United States into a World Government ruling disarmed peoples by a World Police armed with nuclear weapons.

To middle-level patriotic citizens, it seems the Fund for the Republic is now in full focus on the American scene. But the \$20,000,000 question is: Who are its candidates for President of the new Corporate Republic of the United States of America and its self-perpetuating Praesidium?

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## Change the Wor

IN 1935 I was in Parks attended congress of writers organized

Hitler and Mussolini then feared nothing more than the growth of the People's Front. The congress to which I was a delegate was

the first to establish such a united front among the world's writers, artists, intellectuals.

The conservative and fascist press of France naturally went into action against the meeting. Heinrich Mann, Henri Barbusse, Max Brod, Alexi

Telstoy, André Malrays, E. Hux-

Forster and Aldous Hux-were some of the distinguished delegates attacked as rabid revolutionists carrying concealed bombs in their Moscow pants and waiting only to blow up Paris.

There was then being published a big illustrated weekly in Paris something like our own Life magazine. It got out a special edition during the writers' congress, a 50-page "exposure" of the "Communist plot to take over France under the false front of a writars' congress."

THE pictures in this VU magazine were as cleverly chosen for their interest and double-meaning as any in Henry Luce's little bit of million-dóllar self-expression.

The essay on Communism that accompanied the pictures was said to be the work of an "expert and patriotic" investigator of ComBy Mike Gol

hunist

Suares.

not this farness sectors. The seemed to have met me, for he mounted me with great intimacy as one of the chief secret plotters, and as a tall gaunt, ratged fellow with a Endemy smoked marijuana incessant most illiterate. I was charged with main link between Moscow and the Elders of Zion, or something like that. There were

plenty of such expert details. Thousands of Parisians must have bought this issue of the Prench "Life" and shuddered over such horrific revelations, It must have helped scare them out of their senses against Russia and thus served to undermine the Franco-Soviet pact which had successfully stopped Hitler thus far.

WHAT can you do against such libel? No

law helps you against the assassins.

What can Russia do to protect its honor from the tireless lies of the world's Hearsts or Luces? What law will cast a guardian wing over the shrinking form of a mild little Aldous Huxley while attending a writers' congress for democracy? 🖃

There has never been a legal shield against the red-baiters. Yet history has its own way of answering them. Pacts are stubborn things. T was not Russia, but Hitler Germany that

was plotting against France. All France is grateful today to the Red Army. France

VHE mask was also now tapped from t professional red-batter and anti-Domn "experts" like Georges Suas

I notice that Georges, the mick fello did not manage to expert himself aut of treason trial in Paris last week. He ev

got himself executed of a voter ingitor.

During three years of Real georgetion served as editor of two parts.

Naxis paid him something the stages. month, which isn't had Oporges time is st He admitted under that he had advocated the shooting by Manie of American, British and Prenchoses. But 'I was a Prenchman all i while!" he shouted. France was not at w anyway, was his chief defense. Georges v executed as a traitor. And the French p ple boood his dying howls and will spit his grave forever.

All this beers some lesson for us 4 los, I hope.

knows and loves the courage, the democratic Former - Pat. Nec. - C VOR 336098 -SE 19 INT NOT RECORDED 87 NOV TT TARECORDED 1700 This is a clipping from page \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ of the \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ DAILY WORKER Date 11-5-44 Clipped at the Seat of Covernment 676



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As a result of the interview with

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57

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VICE PRESIDENT - RADIO STATIAN - K.P.F.K. "Los Angeles Times" (5/29/60)

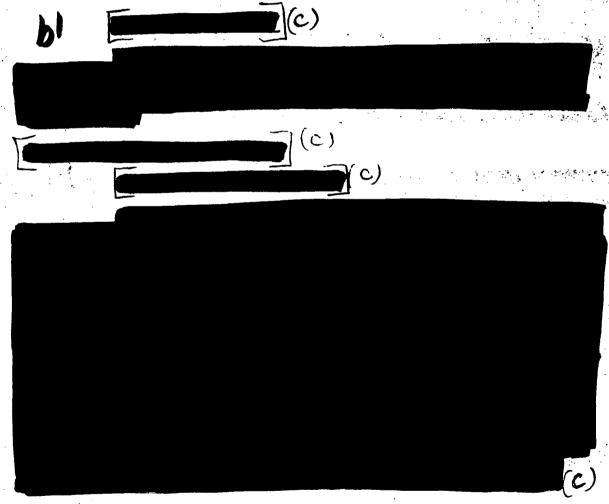
The "Los Angeles Times" reported that according to CATHERINE CORY, the Los Angeles non-commercial, educational KPFK would not go under because of financial difficulties



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although the station was in the hole to the amount of \$22,000 due primarily to the cost of preparing the station for broadcasting inJuly (1959). The article noted that in less than a year KPFK obtained close to 7,000 subscribers. The station in May attempted to induce additional friends to send \$12 a year as payment for a subscription to the program log. The article noted that KPFK in those 12 months of operation presented lectures by ALDOUS HUXLEY, dramatic plays, live concerts, book reviews and probing series such as "The Coming Death of CARYL CHESSMAN," which, according to the article, won the 1959 Sigma Delta Chi award for distinguished service in radio writing.



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#### TRANSLATION FROM THE GERMAN

(Article on page 389 of Neue Deutsche Elatter", August 1935)

Data on the "International Authors Congress"in Paris

From June 21 to 25, 1935 there took place in the "Mutualite" Hall in Paris the "International Authors Congress for the Defense of Culture". The invitations were extended by Andre Gide, Jean Giono, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Andre Malraux, Jean-Richard Bloch, Charles Vildrac, Luc Durtain, Jean Cassou, Elie Faure, Eugene Dabit, Alain, Aragon, Nizan, Andre Viollis, Victor Margueritte and other French authors to the prominent poets and authors of the entire world.

There were represented at this Congress, including delegates from the nations of the Soviet Union, twenty-eight countries, the most important speakers were:

From Belgium:

Denis marion

Hubermont

Charles/Fliesnier

From British India:

From China: Wong Shelley

From Cuba:
Herminia del Portal

From Denmark:

Martin Andersen Next

Karinghichaelis

From Germany:

Johannes R. Becher Ernst Bloch
Bertolt Brecht
Liom Feuchtwanger
Leonhard Frank
Alfred Kantorowicz
Alfred Kerr
Egon Erwin Kisch
Rudolf Feonhard
Heinrich Fann
Hans Marchwitza
Ludwig Marcuse
Gustav Fegler

From England:

E. M. Forster

Walter Greenwood

Aldous Auxley

Herman Ould

J. E. Priestley

John Strackey

Williams Ellis

From France:

Pierre Abraham

Aragon

Henri Barbusse

Julien Benda

Jean-Richard Bloch

Jean Cassou

Andre Chamson

Henri Cierc

Eduard Dujardin

Luch Durtain

LuctDurtain
Georges Friedmann
Pierre Gerome
Andre Cide

Georgette Gueguen Dreyfus
Jean Guehenno
H. R. Henormand
Andre Malraux

Jules Mattonnerot 10
Leon Mousinac
Paul Nizan

Vaillant Couturier 31 14

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From Germany:

Anna Seghers Bodo Uhse

Erich Weinert

One Delegate from Western Germany

From Czechoslovakia:

Ter Braak

Jef Last

From Italy:

Ambrogia<del>, Do</del>nini

Ferrero

Maxiford

From Holland:

From USA:
Waldo Frank
Wichael Gold

From Austria:
Robert Musil

From Spain:

Alvarez del Vayo

From the Soviet Union

Ilja Ehrenburg
Vsevolod Ivanov
V. Kirschon
Vichail Kolzov
Lahuti
Luppol
Vikitenko
T. Tanferov
B. Festerpek
Sch. L. Schneidermann
Tichonov
Alexe Folstoi

The following were elected to the Praesidium of the Congress:

Forster, Huxley, Gide, Barbusse, Malraux, Benda, J.-R. Eloch, Guehenno, Cassou, Vaillant-Couturier, Nizan, Chamson, Mousinac, Aragon, Heinrich Mann, E. E. Kisch, A. Tolstoi, Luppol.

The Congress resolved:

The foundation of the "International Authors Congress for the Defense of Culture". (Our readers will be currently informed concerning the establishment and operation of this organization. Ed.)

At the Congress were read:

A telegram from Maxim Gorki, A telegram from Romain Rolland, The speech of Crevel who committed suicide on the eve of the Congress A letter from J. Silone A welcome from the German Authors Protective Association, A declaration from the Australian authors (Christina Stead, Nettie Palmer, John Fisher), A declaration from the English authors.

The following were published in the German language:

The speech of Lion Feuchtwanger in the "Neues Tagebuch", Paris
The speech of Max Brod in the "Wahrheit", Prague
The speeches of Heinrich Mann and E. E. Kisch in the "Neue Weltbühne",
Prague
The speeches of Andre Malraux in "Unsere Zeit", Paris
The "Mitteilungen der deutschen Freiheitsbibliothek" (Communications
from the German Freedom Library), Paris, 65 Boul. Arago, published
extensive material concerning the Congress in the German language, also
practically all of the speeches included in this pamphlet.

December 12, 1944 b7 C

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#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

Office: LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Date:

Field Office File No.: Los Angeles 100-19333

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF

RADIO-TELEVISION INDUSTRY

Bureau File No.: 100-340922

FOLPH 350308

CLASSIFIED BY: 9145 DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY 👙

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

OTHERWISE

Synopsis:

DETAILS:

#### INFILTRATION OF ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY BY COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

The CP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

100-340 922-476



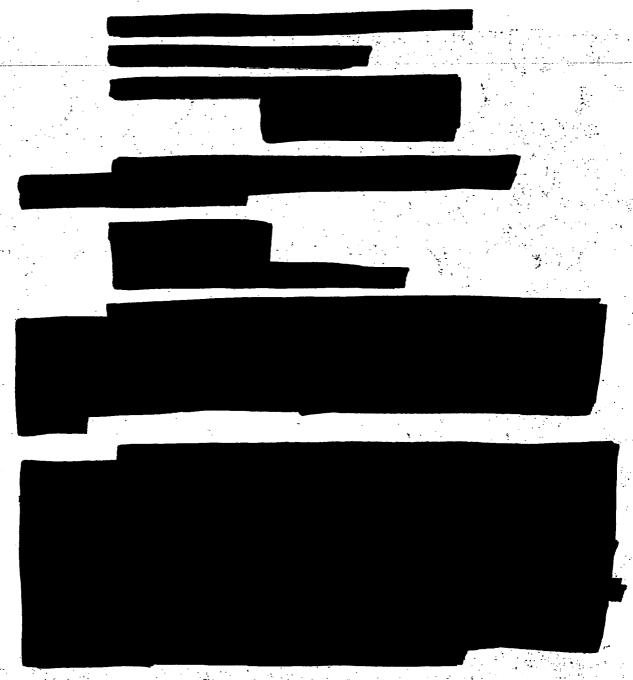


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III. KPFK-FM
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Policy

#### "Los Angeles Mirror" (8/9/60)

On August 9, 1960, the "Los Angeles Mirror", large, Metropolitan evening newspaper in Los Angeles, carried an article in the JOHN CROSBY Column which was ATA DIO written by HAROLD WINKLER captioned "Pacifica's Plans for Adult Minds." The article in part noted that KPFK together with its sister stations WBAI-FM and KPFA in SAN FRANCICCO CAL San Francisco are the sole assets of Pacifica, a non-profit tax exempt organization. Each station derives its financial support from its own community. Management and staff are local with Pacifica providing program exchange and god The purposes of Pacifica are "to promote the creative activities that will secure the cultural welfare of the community -- to contribute lasting understanding among nations and individuals -- to promote the full distribution of public information." Mr. WINKLER wrote "the range of Pacifica programming selects the best from the many great universities close to its three stations and also searches out the peripheral crotchety views poured out by restless minds." Mr. WINKLER wrote "you will never hear the false cathedral voice of ominiscience or a cheery morning phat " VINCENT PRICE, JAMES MASON, STEVE ALLEN, ALDOUS HUXLEY and GROUCHO MARY act as disc jockeys and commentators in Los Angeles to help CKPFK. He stated that "a lingering suspicion difficult to CAL dissipate inthese cynical days is that Pacifica has something more specific to sell than quality and freedom. For 11 years, wer have demonstrated that we are involved in all significant matters and promote none. Out staff members accidentally reflect most major political viewpoints." He wrote, "all of us in Pacifica radio are in the midst of a serious rethinking of the role of Pacifica. Pacifica hopes to be a significant center where the new creative society can express itself."

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#### XII. EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS BY PROMINENT PERSONS BROADCAST OVER KPFA IN 1982

January 30, 1962, 12:15 p.m.

Conservatism versus Socialism.—A debate between Republican Senator BARRY GOLDWAYER of Arizona, and the spokesman for the Socialist Farty, NORMAN THOMAS.

February 1, 1962, 12:15 p.m.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE. A lecture concerning the history of prospects of the West by the eminent British Kistorian ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

February 2, 1932, 10:00 a.m.

The China Question. United Nations Ambassador ADLAI STEVENSON addressing the U.N. General Assembly concerning the admission of China.

February 3, 1962, 12:15 p.m.

ARNOLD TOYNBRE. The British Historian concludes his lecture series.

February 4, 1962, 11:00 a.m.

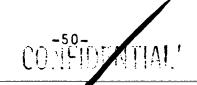
Personal Choice. T. S./ELIOT introduces 17th Century poetry he admires.

February 10, 1562, 12:15 p.m.

GABRIEL MARCEL is a member of the Institute de France and discusses the existential background of human dignity. This is the first of a series of lectures on existentialism.

February 12, 1962, 11:15 a.m.

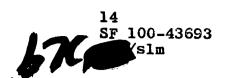
America Since the Civil War. MALCOLM COWLEY, The American critic, author of "Exiles Return" and "The Literary





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April 22, 1962, 10:15 a.m.

The Legacy of Hiroshima. Doctor EDWARD TELLER discusses his just published book of that name at the World Affairs Council in San Francisco on February 27, 1962.

April 23, 1962, 9:45 p.m.

Interview with ALDOUS HUXLEY. Mr. HUXLEY, visiting Professor at the University of California, is interviewed by LESTER GORN, Book Editor for the "San Francisco Examiner".

April 29, 1952, 6:30 p.m.

Invitation. Marin County State Senator JOHN MC CARTHY who is seeking the Republican nomination for Lieutenant Governor answers questions put to him by a panel of KFFA staff members.

May 12, 1962, 4:00 p.m.

To Win the Leace Race. NORMAN COUSINS, Editor of the "Saturday Review" and a leading figure in the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, speaking before the United World Federalists in San Francisco last March.

May 12, 1962, 9:30 p.m.

The Work of ALBERT SCHWEITZER. RHENA SCHWEITZER ECKERT, daughter of ALBERT SCHWEITZER, discusses his work.

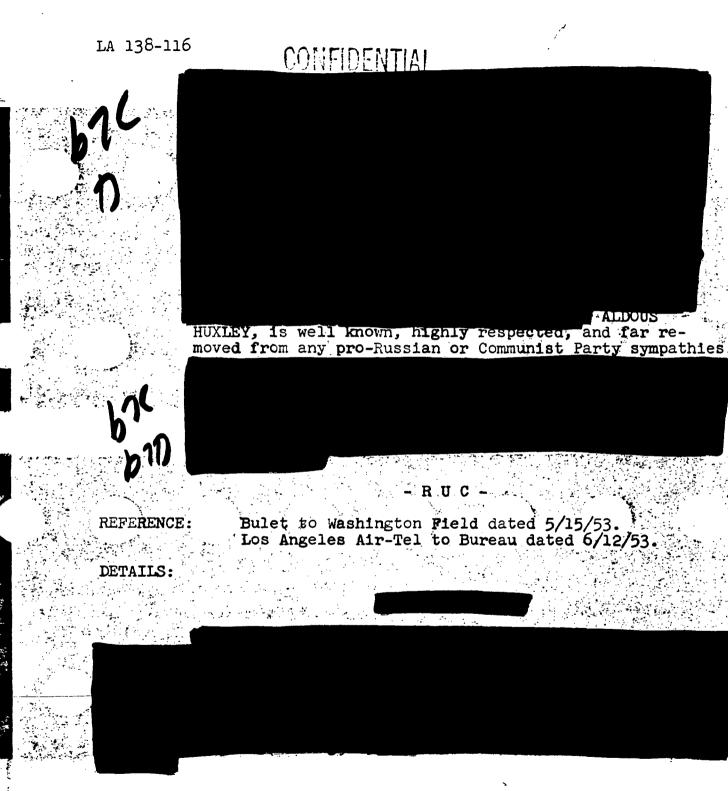
May 19, 1962, 10:45 a.m.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, IV. ROCKEFELLER IV talks to high school students about the physical, political, and cultural world they are inheriting.

May 26, 1962, 11:20 a.m.

Doctor ROBERT OPFENHEIMER. A talk by OPPENHEIMER delivered when he received the Annual Chaim Weizmann Award in New York in January, 1959.

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hr. Te'ses ..... Mr. Deugh \_\_\_ .... Tederal Bureau of Investigation Mr. Clear ..... Bir. Coffer ...... H. S. Bepartment of Justice Mr. Dewest ....... 607 U.S. Court House Mr. Formerab . Foley Square Mr. Glavia .... Nir. Earto .... New York, New York. Mr. Joseph .... Mr. Nichala. ...... May 28, 1937. Mr. Sci-Bilor. PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL Director. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C. Subversive Activ Dear Sir: Reference is made to Bureau letter of Ma ed "Personal and Configential" (Bureau file 61-7559) and New York Division letter of May 19, 1937, dealing with the organization known as the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, the address of which was given as 171 West 12th Street, New York City. As has previously been reported, Special Agent] of this office, communicated with the same organization at an office at 2-4 Stone Street, New York City, and subsequently communicated with the organization at 171 West 12th Street, New York City. Permitted FILE RECORDED INDEXED. 1937 COPIES DESTROYED

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61-507

The literature received from the League with this letter included the following:

The April 10, 1937 issue of PEACE NEWS, published in London as the weekly newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union.

A pamphlet bearing the title WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?, this being a presentation of the case for constructive peace by ALDOUS HUXLEY, published by Harper & Brothers, New York City.

INDIVIDUAL PACIFISM, a pamphlet presenting the concluding chapter in a book by BERTRAND RUSSELL and published by The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway. New York City.

WHAT ABOUT SPAIN? by JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, Ph.D., who incidentally is described as the author of WHAT IS SOCIALISM?, A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL GOVERN-LENT, THE CHALLENGE OF MARS AND OTHER VERSES. The pamphlet WHAT ABOUT SPAIN? is published and distributed by the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, this being the second edition, dated April 1937. The author attempts to analyze the stand which should be taken on the Spanish question by the members of the League.

THE PEGINNINGS OF WAR RESISTANCE by JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, published and distributed by the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, this being the second edition dated January 1937. This is an interesting and comprehensive analysis in a brief form of the distinction between the liberal peace advocates, the communists and the pacifists.

A leaflet - AREDS AND PACIFISTS, by JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, which apparently is a reprint from the ARATERNITY MONTELY, December 1936, and is also an analysis of the three groups prevailing on the campus and interested in peace movements. JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN is presented as being the founder of the Alpha Omega Pi Fraternity, at the heading of this article. It appears to be published and distributed by the Committee for Student Enrollment.

VPLAN FOR ORGANIZATION OF WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE (mimeographed)
three pages.







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61-7559-1455

# WHAT

ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

THE CASE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE

BY ALDOUS HUXLEY

HARPER & BROTHERS - PUBLISHERS - NEW YORK

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

1676

171 WEST 12TH ST., N. Y. Q.